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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

INFORMATION REPORT

COUNTRY India

SUBJECT Communist Moderate Tactics
Prove Successful

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THIS IS UNEVALUATED INFORMATION

1. The Indian Communist Party Congress in Madura (Madras) took place at a propitious moment for the party: after the Calcutta election and during the anti-American ("Hands off Asia") campaign on the Pakistan issue officially inaugurated under the auspices of the Congress Party on 20 Dec 53. The Party Congress was given extensive coverage by the Indian press.
2. The Congress was attended by about 400 delegates, representing, according to official party statistics, 60,000 card-carrying members. This number is not very impressive, but the strength and influence of the party cannot be evaluated in terms of membership. The party has gained considerably in cohesion within the last two years; it now has well-trained cadres (which the Indian Communist Party had lacked), and many cadres are gaining experience by taking part in local and state administrations. Furthermore, the influence of the still modest Communist press is growing, and disseminates propaganda in a number of native languages.
3. The Indian Communist Party does not have special links to the Chinese Communist Party, but rather to the British Party and via the latter to the Moscow Center. The key figure in this respect at the Indian Party Congress was Harry Pollitt, and the official greetings were first of all directed to the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and Great Britain. There was no special dedication to Mao Tse-tung. This was, of course, a matter of tactics because the Chinese Party prefers to deal directly with Nehru's Congress Party, and Nehru would feel antagonized if the Chinese Government sided conspicuously with the Indian Communists. The Indian Communists have also retained their old inferiority complex vis-a-vis their more successful Chinese

SEE LAST PAGE FOR SUBJECT & AREA CODES

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-2-

25X1

comrades. Furthermore, the Moscow Center is anxious to keep the Indian Communists directly in line, now that the North Korean Communist Party, despite its long affiliation with the Moscow Center, has been "given over" to the Chinese Communist Politburo.

4. The Party Congress reaffirmed the moderate election program of Oct 1951, the major points of which were:
 - a. Support to native capitalists in building up Indian industry, but confiscation and nationalization of all capitalist property belonging to the Americans and the British.
 - b. Removal of British and American advisers.
 - c. Cooperation with all peace-loving nations and a united front with them against the aggressors.
 - d. Friendly relations with Pakistan, Ceylon, and Nepal, and protection of the rights of Indians residing abroad.

The Congress added a new point in the form of a denunciation of the proposed United States-Pakistan military pact as a continuation of American imperialist policy aimed at unleashing a new world war.

5. The significant point in this program is that since Oct 1951 this moderate program has become the tactical concept of the party in India, and that the party Congress stressed to the limit its intention to carry out this program only by constitutional methods. This is a de facto recognition of the Indian Republic with Nehru as its leader; former insurrectionist tactics aimed at the seizure of power by armed struggle, officially abandoned since 1951, were again strongly condemned.
6. As a result of this moderation, B. T. Ranadive, the ultra-Leftist former general secretary of the Telengana period has not been taken back into the party ranks. A colorless bureaucrat, Ajoy Ghosh, was reelected general secretary, and among the nine members of the Politburo, elected by the Central Committee, S. A. Dange appears as the dominant figure. A veteran Communist leader, Dange is one of those Communist Brahmins whose thorough knowledge of India has convinced him that Indian society is fit only for the promotion of democratic Communism (in contrast to China and Korea), and that the party will have great chances if it adopts a strategy suited to the particular conditions of a country imbued with the tradition of non-violent struggle.
7. Important successes have stemmed for the party from this moderate policy:
 - a. The recent victory in the Calcutta election.
 - b. The decision of the Praja Socialist Party (in the southern state of Travancore-Cochin) in favor of a united front with the Communists. Against the warning of its national leaders, Travancore-Cochin (where the Communists had unexpected success in the 1951 and 1952 elections) is scheduled to hold state elections in Feb, when further Communist progress may be anticipated.

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-3-

25X1

- c. Punjab: The south Indian state of Andhra has achieved a reshaping of its frontiers on the basis of linguistic unity (in Oct 1953), and Nehru is now hard put to resist such demands in similar regions. The Sikh leader, Tara Singh, refused to have Nehru speak at a recent meeting in the Punjab, which was a sensational incident in view of Nehru's popularity. Tara Singh is demanding a Punjabi-speaking state comprising the Punjab, Pepsu, and parts of the Himachal Pradesh. This is another threat to Nehru's central authority, and he is not likely to yield since the Hindu nationalist majority of the Congress Party would oppose this step which would weaken Hindu social and cultural predominance in those areas. Sikh opposition, however, is an important affair because of the great number of army and police officers coming from their ranks. The Sikhs fear being assimilated by Hindu civilization unless they acquire a state of their own. Tara Singh (not a card-carrying Communist Party member) has denounced the US-Pakistan alignment and asked that Nehru combat it by strengthening India's ties to Russia.
- d. Kashmir: Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, Premier of Kashmir, has declared that the Americans have been conspiring to grab Kashmir; since their first attempt was foiled, they are now making a second one via Pakistan. The Kashmir Government is far to the Left and the allegiance of the Indian Communist Party to the Indian Republic will strengthen its influence in Kashmir.
- e. Pakistan: Communist influence in Pakistan is expected to grow after the success of the Indian Communists. In a weekly of the Pakistan Socialist Party, published in the Urdu language, the general secretary of the Pakistan Socialists, Mohammed Yusuf, has declared that reports of a military pact between Pakistan and the United States have disturbed the capitals of the world.

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